

HOW REPUBLICANS FAILED AMERICA



IN THE FAILED 108TH CONGRESS

“The Republican-controlled Congress is shambling to the end of one of the lightest workloads in decades without a hint of embarrassment, concentrating on the defense of the flag, tax cuts and marriage while failing at the most demanding obligations of government.”

The New York Times, 9/24/04

FACT:

House Republicans have worked fewer days in the Second Session of the 108th Congress than any single Session since 1948.

“[The 108th Congress is] a do-nothing Congress, contemptuously arrogant and disdainful of long-established political and parliamentary procedures.”
- Al Hunt [Wall Street Journal, 06/24/04]

It’s official! The Republican-controlled House of Representatives worked the *fewest* number of legislative days this year – 102 days through Friday, October 8th – of any single Session of Congress since the Second Session of the 80th Congress in 1948. (Recall that this was the Congress famously derided by President Harry Truman as the “do-nothing Congress.”) And through October 8th, the House in this 108th Congress will have worked fewer legislative days – 235 – of any Congress since 1955.

DAYS IN SESSION

1948	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
110	123	168	122	132	119	137	135	142	123	133	102*

* Through October 8, 2004

While the House of Representatives kept bankers’ hours, crucial legislation languished and serious problems went unaddressed. Five million more Americans have lost their health insurance. Four million more have been pushed into poverty. The federal budget deficit and national debt exploded. And, this Republican Congress has failed to enact two job-creating bills (the corporate tax bill and Transportation Reauthorization legislation), despite the fact that our nation has lost 1.7 million private-sector jobs over the last four years.

Meanwhile, when the House was in Session, the Republican Majority chose to consider non-controversial and ceremonial bills rather than legislation that addresses the needs of the American people. The House named 92 Post Offices; named 22 federal buildings; introduced 35 resolutions creating new postage stamps; and passed 34 resolutions honoring athletic teams.



FACT:**This Republican Congress has failed to enact critical legislation on Intelligence Reform, Energy Reform, Transportation and other areas.**

“Pretty pathetic.”

Congressional scholar Norman Ornstein of the American Enterprise Institute, regarding the legislative record of the 108th Congress, USA Today, 9/08/04

While House Republicans kept a very light work schedule in the Second Session, they have failed to enact legislation on crucial issues:

↓ **FAILED TO ENACT INTELLIGENCE REFORM.** The Republican-controlled Congress will not complete intelligence reform before adjourning for the November election despite pleas from the 9/11 families and the 9/11 Commission. Unfortunately, and over vigorous protests from Democrats, House Republicans crafted a partisan bill with stark differences from the Senate bill and the 9-11 Commission Report. This risks sinking this legislation critical to our nation's security. At the very least it will delay it. The bipartisan 9-11 Commission "called on House leaders [September 30th] to drop controversial proposals regarding immigration and law enforcement power, saying they could sink Congress's efforts to revamp the nation's intelligence operations this fall." [Washington Post, 10/01/04] Republican leaders arrogantly continue to insist against the facts that their bill is bipartisan and reflects the 9-11 Commission Report better than the Senate bill.

↓ **FAILED TO ENACT ENERGY REFORM.** The Energy Conference Report, crafted by Republicans in a House-Senate Conference Committee with no input from Democrats, is a windfall for companies that are Bush campaign “Pioneers” and “Rangers.” Majority Leader Tom DeLay also insisted upon a controversial pet provision to protect users of MTBE, a chemical which has been found to contaminate drinking water. This terrible legislation would also shortchange taxpayers and harm the environment. A bipartisan majority of the Senate rejected the short-sighted, regionally imbalanced Conference Report, and Republicans have failed to produce a solution. Even a major blackout in the Summer of 2003, which disrupted the lives of 50 million people and cost the economy an estimated \$6 billion, and record gasoline prices have failed to spur Republican leaders to re-craft a bipartisan energy package.

↓ **FAILED TO ENACT A FSC/ETI CORPORATE AND MANUFACTURING TAX BILL.** House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Bill Thomas (R-CA) ignored a bipartisan bill that

could have been passed quickly with broad support to end \$4 billion in European Union trade-related sanctions on American manufacturers. Instead, he cobbled together a “Christmas Tree” of miscellaneous tax breaks to win support for his measure to end the sanctions. As a result, billions of dollars in unrelated subsidies and tax breaks were added to the bill and it was bogged down for well over a year while struggling manufacturers suffered the consequences.

↓ **FAILED TO ENACT THE NATION’S MOST IMPORTANT TRANSPORTATION BILL.** A year and six temporary extensions have passed since the authorizing legislation for our nation’s transportation system expired. Bickering between the Bush White House and House and Senate Republicans has put the brakes on this jobs bill which would create an estimated 42,000 jobs for every \$1 billion in spending. It is inexcusable that Republicans have allowed their in-fighting to delay this legislation, which will create millions of jobs in a struggling job market and improve the safety and efficiency of our nation’s roadways.

↓ **FAILED TO ENACT THE WELFARE REFORM BILL.** For the second straight year, the Republican Congress failed to reauthorize the 1996 Welfare Reform law. As a result, federal support for child care for working parents and parents transitioning to the workforce from welfare remains frozen. In its Fiscal Year 2005 Budget, the Bush Administration estimates that the number of children receiving child care already fell by 100,000 over last year and will fall by another 200,000 over the next five years, resulting in a decline from 2.5 million children in Fiscal Year 2003 to 2.2 million in Fiscal Year 2009.

↓ **FAILED TO ENACT HIGHER EDUCATION REAUTHORIZATION BILL.** Failure to enact the Higher Education Reauthorization Act means that Congress will not permanently close a loophole in the law that has allowed some lenders to receive more than \$1 billion a year in taxpayer funds that should be directed to low-income students and loan forgiveness for teachers. Congress’s failure to enact this legislation also impedes efforts to make college more affordable and accessible for millions of college students and their families.

FAILED

FACT:

This Republican Congress failed to enact a budget for Fiscal Year 2005 – the first time since the modern budget system was established in 1974 that Congress has failed to enact a budget when the same party controls the House, Senate and White House.

“For any theoretical elective body, the decision to proceed forward without a governing budget would be foolhardy and grossly irresponsible. It would be a blunder of rank stupidity and extreme fiscal wantonness for any conceivable legislative body to rashly conclude it could sustain fiscal discipline without a guiding and governing budget.”

House Majority Leader Tom DeLay (R-TX), Congressional Record, 9/26/02

House Majority Leader Tom DeLay must surely be surprised at his own “blunder of rank stupidity and extreme fiscal wantonness” in leading a Congress that has failed to enact a Budget for Fiscal Year 2005.

Why did the Republicans’ budget meltdown occur? It occurred because House Republicans (and most Senate Republicans) refused to support common-sense “pay-as-you-go” (PAYGO) budget rules that require increases in mandatory spending **and** decreases in revenues to be offset elsewhere in the budget so they don’t add to the budget deficit (which is now a record \$422 billion in Fiscal Year 2004).

PAYGO budget rules, which expired in 2002, are widely credited with helping the Clinton Administration produce four straight budget *surpluses* (FY98-FY01). And ironically, 193 House Republicans – including Speaker Hastert, Majority Leader DeLay, Conference Chair Pryce and Budget Committee Chair Nussle – voted to extend PAYGO budget rules for spending and taxes in the Balanced Budget Act of 1997. Chairman Nussle’s flip-flop on this issue is exemplified by his vote and statement in support of extending PAYGO rules in 2002 and then this contradictory statement on March 17, 2004: “We don’t believe you should have to pay for tax cuts.” Furthermore, the Bush Administration supported applying pay-as-you-go budget rules to spending and taxes in the first three budgets that it submitted to Congress, before stating in its Fiscal Year 2005 Budget that such rules should apply to spending only.

“Our failure to start making some of the tough decisions will land squarely on the backs of our children and grandchildren, and their financial future will be strapped with digging out of holes that have been created by our actions and inactions.”

Republican Senator John McCain (AZ), explaining why he supported PAYGO budget rules, 01/2004

FACT:***This Republican Congress failed to pass on time 12 of the 13 annual spending bills that keep the federal government operating, including the Homeland Security Appropriations Bill.***

The failure of this Republican Congress to enact Appropriations Bills for Fiscal Year 2005 carries serious implications for veterans, firefighters, the traveling public and others. Below are some examples:

- ↓ **FIREFIGHTERS AND OUR HOMELAND SECURITY:** Because Congressional Republicans failed to enact the Homeland Security Appropriations Bill, critical funding for the “Staffing for Adequate Fire and Emergency Response” (SAFER) Program was *not* available. This funding (\$50 million in the House Bill, \$100 million in the Senate Bill) will help career and volunteer fire departments across the nation hire, recruit and retain firefighters, relieving thousands of fire stations that are currently under-staffed. The events of September 11, 2001 made clear how important firefighters are to our homeland security.
- ↓ **AMERICA’S VETERANS:** Because Congressional Republicans have failed to enact the Veterans Administration-Housing and Urban Development Appropriations Bill, \$458 million in construction funds for veterans’ medical facilities throughout the nation is *not* available. Several veterans’ facilities have major safety code deficiencies that must be corrected; others must be expanded to relieve overcrowding.
- ↓ **FAMILIES OF OUR SOLDIERS:** Because this Republican Congress has failed to enact a Military Construction Appropriations Bill, \$400 million in additional funding for military family housing is *not* available. The House and Senate version of this bill each provides \$4.2 billion for Fiscal Year 2005, compared to \$3.8 billion in 2004.
- ↓ **OUR EMBASSY WORKERS OVERSEAS:** Because this Republican Congress has failed to enact the Commerce-Justice-State Appropriations Bill, \$658 million in worldwide security upgrades at U.S. facilities (especially in Kabul, Afghanistan) is *not* available.
- ↓ **COMMUNITIES VULNERABLE TO GANGS AND VIOLENCE:** Because this Republican Congress has failed to enact the CJS Appropriations Bill, \$349 million for local communities across the nation who sponsor youth violence prevention programs, alternatives to gangs, drug programs and mentoring services is *not* available.
- ↓ **THE TRAVELING PUBLIC:** Because this Republican Congress has failed to enact the Transportation-Treasury Appropriations Bill, \$983 million in airport security and improvements grants will *not* be available. This funding is earmarked for, among other

things, perimeter security fencing and construction of airport rescue and firefighting stations.

↓ **VICTIMS OF GENOCIDE:** Because this Republican Congress has failed to enact the Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill, humanitarian assistance (\$311 million in the House Bill, \$690 in the Senate Bill) will not be available to assist Sudanese civilians who are the victims of genocide at the hands of government forces and Arab militias.

↓ **THE UNINSURED:** Because this Republican Congress has failed to enact the Labor-Health and Human Services-Education Appropriations Bill, a \$218 million increase in funding for community health centers is not available. This funding will help provide services for an additional 1.6 million people and is supposedly a priority of President Bush and Republicans.

↓ **AMERICANS' FOOD SAFETY:** Because this Republican Congress has failed to enact the Agriculture Appropriations Bill, increases in funding to protect America's food supply through surveillance and testing are not available. The Food Safety and Inspection Service (FSIS) and Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service (APHIS) would receive an additional \$46 million and \$115 million, respectively, over last year's funding level to inspect and protect our food safety.

↓ **SMALL BUSINESS:** Because this Republican Congress has failed to include funding for the Small Business Administration's largest and most important small business lending program, the 7(a) Loan Program, in the Continuing Resolution, funding assistance for small businesses to utilize the loan program is not available – meaning the cost for small businesses and lenders to utilize this program doubled on October 1st.

FAILED

FACT:

House Republicans – who preened as “deficit hawks” in the 1990s – have created the largest budget deficits in American history, and they do not have a plan to return the budget to balance.

“Ten years ago, Republican congressional candidates like me were running as Washington outsiders, promising to balance the budget and pay off federal debt. We campaigned against the Imperial Congress and promised Americans that if we got elected, we would be different. We lied.”

Former Republican Rep. Joe Scarborough, Wall Street Journal, 9/23/04

“I’m sitting here, and I’m upset about the deficit, and I’m upset about spending. There’s no way I can pin that on the Democrats. Republicans own the town now.”

Former Republican House Majority Leader Dick Arney (TX), Wall Street Journal, 1/30/04

In the 108th Congress, Congressional Republicans presided over a record budget deficit of \$375 billion for Fiscal Year 2003 that was then eclipsed by this year’s new record deficit of \$422 billion. Excluding the Social Security Trust Fund, the 2004 deficit is \$574 billion, or 5% of GDP. For 2004, tax cuts are responsible for 60 percent of the budget deterioration caused by policy changes.

According to a Congressional Budget Office report on September 23, 2004, the \$5.6 trillion 10-year projected surplus inherited by the Bush Administration and Congressional Republicans in 2001 has become a \$3.3 trillion deficit – an \$8.9 trillion turnaround. And as Douglas Holtz-Eakin, the Director of CBO and a former chief economist for President Bush’s Council of Economic Advisors, told the New York Times earlier in September: “The message is that you cannot grow your way out of this.”

“[Former New York Congressman] Jack Kemp worships at the altar of tax cuts. Jack has always said that deficits don’t matter. We think that deficits do matter.”

Majority Leader Tom DeLay, Congressional Record, 5/23/99

“We can limit [deficits] on our own. We in Congress ought to be embarrassed by what has happened. We ought to be ashamed of ourselves.” – Republican

Representative Jeff Flake (AZ), Washington Post 09/30/04

FAILED

FACT:

House Republicans' fiscally irresponsible economic schemes have not only turned record surpluses into deficits, but also forced Congress to raise the debt ceiling three times in three years.

“You see, certain lawmakers around this place have hopes of hiding a debt limit increase in a jungle of budget resolutions and conference reports. . . . We must demand a separate vote on increasing the debt limit.”

House Republican Conference Chair Deborah Pryce (OH), Congressional Record, 3/25/93

In 2002, the Republican Congress increased the statutory limit on the national debt by \$450 billion.

Last year, with virtually no debate, they increased the debt limit by \$984 billion (to \$7.384 trillion) – the largest increase in the debt limit in American history and the approximate size of the entire national debt in 1980.

In August, Treasury Secretary John Snow requested that Congress raise the debt limit again – the third increase in three years – because the Administration projected that the debt limit would be reached in late September or early October.

However, the Republican Congress has refused to allow an up-or-down vote on increasing the debt limit by another \$690 billion this year (to \$8.1 trillion) because it fears voter retribution for the Republican Party's blatant fiscal mismanagement.

FAILED

FACT:***Congressional Republicans and President Bush have broken promise after promise on every major issue from job creation, to deficits and debt, to education.***

ISSUE:	REPUBLICANS CLAIMED:	FAILURE:
1. JOBS/ECONOMY	Their tax plan would create 4.3 million new jobs	⇒ The economy has lost 1.7 million private sector jobs since 2001
	The unemployment rate would drop	⇒ Unemployment rate is up by 1.2 percentage points since President Bush took office
	Their policies would lead to strong economic growth and investment	⇒ GDP has increased at an average annual rate of 2.5% since President Bush took office, far below 3.3% average growth rate achieved from 1953 – 2001. Only the second Administration (after Ford) in 50 years with negative real business investment, and only the second Administration (after Nixon) with a decline in the stock market (-18% since January 2001)
2. WAGES / INCOME	Their policies would improve earnings for America's workers	⇒ The typical worker's earnings are barely keeping up with inflation (0.2%/yr after inflation during the Bush years vs. 1.7%/yr after inflation in Clinton's second term)
		⇒ Over 90% of new jobs created since August 2003 are service sector jobs that pay less than the national average hourly wage
		⇒ Median household income down \$1,535; greatest average annual decline in household income since 1960
3. HEALTH CARE	Their policies would increase access and affordability of health care	⇒ Employer-sponsored health insurance premiums increased an average of 11.2% in 2004, the fourth year of double-digit increases
		⇒ 5.2 million more Americans without health insurance since 2000
		⇒ 5 million fewer jobs providing health insurance in 2004 than 2001
		⇒ The Administration will raise Medicare premiums this year, an increase of over 17% that will affect 38.9 million Americans
4. EDUCATION	Their policies would fully fund the No Child Left Behind Act	⇒ FY05 House GOP education spending bill under-funded the No Child Left Behind Act by \$9.5 billion, \$25 billion overall (if House FY05 bill is enacted)
5. DEFICITS	Their policies would cut the deficit in half	⇒ Large surpluses (10-yr projection in 2001 was \$5.6 trillion) turned into large deficits (10-yr projection in 2004 is \$3.5 trillion). Record-setting deficits for 2003 and 2004.

ISSUE:	REPUBLICANS CLAIMED:	FAILURE:
6. DEBT	Their plans would pay down an “unprecedented amount of debt”	⇒ President Bush and the GOP Congress have enacted 2 debt limit increases in the last 3 years, and are poised to enact a third (increasing the limit \$690 billion to \$8.1 trillion) ⇒
7. IRAQ	Iraq had weapons of mass destruction threatening the U.S.	⇒ No weapons of mass destruction have been found and weapons inspector David Kay believes they never will be found
	There was a direct connection between 9/11 and Iraq	⇒ Even Colin Powell said he has "seen nothing that makes a direct connection between Saddam Hussein and that awful regime and what happened on 9/11."
	Iraq could fund its own reconstruction at little cost to American taxpayers	⇒ The cost of the war to America is approaching \$160 billion and is projected to reach \$200 billion by 2005
	On May 1, 2003: Mission Accomplished	⇒ Since May 1 st , 927 American troops have died (as of 10/7/04). Recent news reports detail escalating violence.
8. HOMELAND SECURITY	Homeland Security would be a legislative and budgetary priority	⇒ Homeland Security funding programs have been underfunded; states and cities still have not received needed money; and Congress did not pass the FY05 Homeland Security Appropriations bill before the end of the year (Oct. 1 st)
9. BUDGET	They would produce an effective federal budget every year	⇒ Republicans failed to produce a FY05 Budget – the first time in modern budget history when one party controlled the Congress and the White House
10. TRANSPORTATION	They would pass a jobs-creating transportation bill	⇒ Transportation reauthorization bill has been stalled for over a year because of Republican infighting
11. ENERGY	They would pass a comprehensive energy reform bill	⇒ Energy conference bill mired by Republican infighting at a time of record gas prices
12. APPROPRIATIONS	They would make the appropriations process run on time and pass appropriations and budget bills by Oct. 1	⇒ For the third year in a row, Congress will not complete appropriations work on time. Congress has sent only 1 out of 13 appropriations bills to the President for his signature

FAILED

FACT:

The American people are worse off under the Bush Administration and Republican Congress than under Democrats.

INDICATOR	Democrats (1993-2001)	Republicans (2001-2004)
 MEDIAN INCOME	Increased by \$5,489 <small>(Joint Economic Cmte – Democrats)</small>	Decreased by \$1,535 <small>(Joint Economic Cmte – Democrats)</small>
 JOB CREATION	20.8 Million Jobs Created <small>(Private sector- Bureau of Labor Statistics)</small>	1.7 Million Jobs Lost <small>(Private sector- Bureau of Labor Statistics)</small>
 UNINSURED	In 2000: 39.8 Million <small>(U.S. Census Bureau)</small>	In 2003: 45 Million <small>(U.S. Census Bureau)</small>
 HEALTH CARE COSTS	6.5% Avg. increase ('90-'00) <small>(Employee Benefits Research Institute)</small>	8.9% Avg. increase ('01-'02) <small>(Employee Benefits Research Institute)</small>
 AMERICANS IN POVERTY	Declined by 8 Million People <small>(U.S. Census Bureau)</small>	Increased by 4.3 Million People <small>(U.S. Census Bureau)</small>
 BUDGET	\$61 Billion Cumulative Surplus Over 8 Years <small>(Federal Budget Historical Tables)</small>	\$1.31 Trillion Cumulative Deficit <small>[incl. OMB Mid-Session FY04-05 estimate]</small>
 DEBT HELD BY PUBLIC	Increased by \$71 Billion <small>(Federal Budget Historical Tables)</small>	Increased by \$1.35 Trillion <small>[incl. OMB Mid-Session FY04-05 estimate]</small>
 GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT	3.6% average growth rate <small>(Joint Economic Cmte – Democrats)</small>	2.5% average growth rate <small>(Joint Economic Cmte – Democrats)</small>
 STOCK MARKET	S&P up 15.2% (average yearly) from 1993-2000 <small>(NYSE/JP Morgan)</small>	S&P down 4.5% (average yearly) from 2001 - 2004: <small>(Joint Economic Cmte – Democrats)</small>

FAILED

FACT:**House Republicans have repeatedly – and increasingly – crossed the ethical line in this 108th Congress.**

“The House ethics committee last night admonished Majority Leader Tom DeLay (R-Tex.)... The two-pronged rebuke marked the second time in six days -- and the third time overall -- that the ethics panel has admonished the House's second-ranking Republican. The back-to-back chastisements are highly unusual for any lawmaker, let alone one who aspires to be speaker, and some watchdog groups called on him to resign his leadership post. ”

The Washington Post, 10/7/04

House Republicans have racked up a laundry list of ethically questionable actions which has prevented them from getting the people’s work done and has made them unfit to lead the country. In the last week alone Majority Tom DeLay has been strongly admonished for violating House standards in two separate reports on three counts by a unanimous bipartisan ethics committee. The Majority Leader’s public statements make it clear that he is not ashamed of his unethical behavior and will continue to conduct himself in a manner unbecoming of a Member of Congress, let alone a party leader.

Below is a list of the most egregious examples of Republicans’ unethical behavior:

- In its third rebuke of Majority Leader Tom DeLay, the House Ethics Committee admonished him for using government resources to further partisan purposes. Rep. DeLay improperly used his office to exhort federal agencies, including the FAA and the Department of Justice, to search for and interdict state legislators absent from a state legislative session in Texas. House ethics rules absolutely preclude the use of government resources, which are paid for by taxpayers, for a political undertaking such as the one Rep. DeLay was engaged in.
- Also in its third rebuke, the Ethics Committee said that Majority Leader Tom DeLay’s actions at a minimum created an appearance that Westar Energy was receiving special access regarding pending energy legislation in return for campaign contributions
- In its second rebuke of Majority Leader DeLay, the Committee admonished him for offering to endorse Rep. Nick Smith's son in the primary in exchange for Smith voting for the controversial Medicare Prescription Drug Bill. Rep. DeLay essentially offered Smith “something of value” which is prohibited under Ethics rules. The Ethics Committee also admonished Reps. Nick Smith (R-MI) and Candace Miller (R-MI) for their behavior surrounding the controversial vote.

- The K Street project, including: casino issue with Jack Abramoff and ouster from Greenberg Traurig; an effort by Rep. DeLay to block the hiring of former Rep. Dave McCurdy at the Electronics Industries Association in 1999, which resulted in Rep. DeLay's first admonishment by the House Ethics Committee
- A Travis County, Texas, grand jury indicted three top political aides to Rep. Tom DeLay on Sept. 21, 2004, in connection with illegal corporate money raised during the 2002 election and that was funneled into Texas House races and culminated in Republicans' Congressional redistricting effort in Texas. The House Ethics Committee has deferred action on a related ethics complaint against Majority Leader DeLay until the Texas judicial system acts.
- On-going investigation of Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon for bilking Native American Tribes of \$66 million. Scanlon is the former spokesman for Rep. Tom DeLay and Abramoff, a lobbyist, has close ties to the Majority Leader's office
- Rep. Billy Tauzin (R-LA) and million-dollar job offers from PhRMA after drafting legislation that benefited the pharmaceutical industry
- Rep. Tom DeLay and his use of a children's charity organization as cover for political activity (including the proposed use of a 2004 Republican National Convention "floating hotel")
- Financial Services Chairman Mike Oxley's (R-Ohio) efforts to use his congressional committee position to pressure Investment Company Institute to fire a Democratic lobbyist
- Rep. Charles Taylor (R-NC) and his Chief of Staff Roger France's contract with a company he helped win \$750,000 in appropriations while on Taylor's staff
- In a "whistle-blower" complaint, two law enforcement officials with the Department of Agriculture's Forest Service charged that Rep. Henry E. Brown (R-SC) used his influence with top USDA and Forest Service officials to get a \$250 fine quashed for starting a brush fire that caused \$4,000 in damage at the Francis Marion National Forest

FAILED

FACT:

House Republicans have consistently failed to fulfill one of their most basic Constitutional duties – oversight of the executive branch

One of Congress' most important constitutional responsibilities is to conduct oversight to check abuses of power by the executive branch. During the last four years, however, the Republican House has refused to conduct meaningful investigations of allegations of serious misconduct involving the Bush Administration. As described below, Congress has failed to investigate:

- The role of the White House in promoting misleading intelligence about Iraq's weapons of mass destruction and ties to al-Qaeda;
- The responsibility of senior Administration officials for the abuses at Abu Ghraib;
- The role of the Vice President's office in the award of Halliburton contracts;
- The role of the White House in withholding the Medicare cost estimates from Congress;
- The identity of the energy industry campaign contributors that met with the Vice President's energy task force;
- The role of White House officials in leaking the identity of a covert CIA agent;
- The influence of industry lobbyists in writing EPA regulations;
- Allegations of conflicts of interest at multiple federal agencies and the White House; and
- The role of Attorney General Ashcroft in illegal campaign finance activities.

FAILED